

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11

HA-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 ACDA-12 COME-00 MCT-01 /098 W

-----020130 041922Z /72

P R 041730Z MAY 78

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2519

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

COMSIXTHFLT

DIA

AMCONSUL FLORENCE

AMCONSUL GENOA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MILAN

AMCONSUL NAPLES

AMCONSUL PALERMO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

SHAPEUSNR

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GERMANY

USCOCOSOUTH

USMISSION USNATO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AFOSI DIST 65 ROME IT/IVOA

HG AFOSI WASHDC/IVOAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 8187

USDOCOSOUTH FOR INTAF

SHAPEUSNR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, IT

SUBJECT: THE MORO CASE--WHAT IS CRAXI UP TO?

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REF: ROME 7867; ROME 7875; ROME 8109; MILAN 0677

SUMMARY: SOCIALIST PARTY SECRETARY CRAXI HAS TAKEN THE  
LEAD IN PROPOSING SOME ACT OF CLEMENCY ON THE PART OF THE  
ITALIAN GOVERNMENT WHICH MIGHT INDUCE THE RED BRIGADES TO  
RELEASE ALDO MORO ACCORDING TO EMBASSY SOURCES, CRAXI'S  
INITIATIVE HAS BEEN MOTIVATED BY A DESIRE TO OBSTRUCT

COOPERATION BETWEEN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND COMMUNISTS, DIVIDE THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY ON THE MORO ISSUE AND LEAD TO SOCIALIST ENTRY INTO THE GOVERNMENT. THE EMBASSY STRONGLY DOUBTS THAT CRAXI WILL ACHIEVE HIS AIMS. END SUMMARY.

1. BASED ON CONVERSATIONS WITH SOCIALIST LEADERS CALUDIO SIGNORILE AND ENRICO MANCA AS WELL AS WITH SEVERAL JOURNALISTS IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE SOCIALIST LEADERSHIP, WE HAVE NOW FORMED THE FOLLOWING COMPOSITE PICTURE OF WHAT CRAXI IS UP TO IN HIS ATTEMPTS TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE RED BRIGADES FOR MORO'S RELEASE.

2. CRAXI'S ULTIMATE INTENTION IS TO USE THE MORO ISSUE IN A WAY THAT WILL LEAD TO THE FORMATION OF A NEW CENTER-LEFT COALITION. CRAXI HOPES THAT IN REPOSE TO HIS PROPOSALS FOR CONCESSIONS WHICH COULD LEAD TO MORO'S LIBERATION, THERE WILL DEVELOP A GROUP WITHIN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY WILLING TO JOIN HIM IN TRYING TO REACH SOME SETTLEMENT WITH THE RED BRIGADES. HE FURTHER HOPES THAT THIS GROUP WOULD TAKE CONTROL OF THE PARTY'S HANDLING OF THE MORO CASE AND COLLABORATE CLOSELY WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO ACHIEVE SOME ACT OF CLEMENCY SUFFICIENT TO SPRING MORO. THIS COLLABORATION WOULD THEN BE USED BY CRAXI AS CONFIDENTIAL

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THE BASIS FOR A POLITICAL ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE SOCIALISTS AND THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WHICH WOULD LEAD EVENTUALLY TO A NEW CENTER-LEFT GOVERNMENT.

3. CRAXI'S MOTIVATION IN ALL THIS IS SAID TO STEM FROM HIS CONCERN OVER THE GROWING COOPERATION BETWEEN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND COMMUNISTS WHICH IN HIS VIEW AMOUNTS ALMOST TO A DE FACTO HISTORIC COMPROMISE. HENCE HE FEARS THE SOCIALISTS ARE IN IMMINENT DANGER OF BEING COMPLETELY THRUST ASIDE AND DEPRIVED OF A FUTURE POLITICAL ROLE. A SECOND AND CLOSELY RELATED IMPULSE IS HIS SIMPLE DESIRE TO BRING THE SOCIALISTS INTO THE GOVERNMENT, IN THE CONVICTION THAT SHARING POWER WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE REBUILDING OF HIS PARTY. AS ONE JOURNALIST SAID TO US, CRAXI HAD LONG BEEN SEARCHING FOR AN ISSUE WHICH HE COULD USE TO FORCE HIS WAY INTO THE GOVERNMENT. WHAT BETTER ISSUE THAN A HUMANITARIAN CAUSE, DIRECTED BY THE SOCIALISTS AND CULMINATING IN A NEW COALITION GOVERNMENT BASED ON SOCIALIST HUMANITARIAN PRINCIPLES.

4. THERE ARE VARIOUS OTHER STIMULI TO CRAXI'S INITIA-

TIVE.IT PROVIDES THE SOCIALIST PARTY WITH A HUMANI-  
TARIAN IMAGE WHICH, AS SIGNORILE SAID TO THE EMBASSY  
RECENTLY, PUTS THE PARTY IN A NO-LOSE SITUATION.IF  
MORO IS RELEASED THE SOCIALISTS WILL INEVITABLY GAIN

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P R 041730Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ROME  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0000  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
COMSIXTHFLT  
DIA  
AMCONSUL FLORENCE  
AMCONSUL GENOA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMCONSUL MILAN  
AMCONSUL NAPLES  
AMCONSUL PALERMO  
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SHAPEUSNR  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GERMANY  
USDOCOSOUTH  
USMISSION USNATO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
AFOSI DIST 65 ROME IT/IVOA  
HG AFOSI WASHDC/IVOAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ROME 8187

CREDIT:IF EXECUTED,THEY WILL BE SEEN TO HAVE DONE  
MORE THAN ANYONE ELSE TO PREVENT THE TRAGEDY. CRAXI'S  
INITIATIVE FURTHER RESPONDS TO THE SOCIALIST'S PROFILE  
NEUROSIS BY GIVING THE PARTY BOTH PUBLIC PROMINENCE  
AND POLITICAL AUTONOMY. CRAXI ALSO APPARENTLY HOPES  
TO ATTRACT THE SPECIFIC SUPPORT OF THE RADICAL LEFT  
YOUTH AMONG WHOM THERE IS SOME SUPPORT FOR A DEAL WITH  
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THE RED BRIGADES. CRAXI MAY BELIEVE THIS STANCE WILL CONTRIBUTE TO SOCIALIST SUCCESS IN THE COMING ADMINISTRATIVE ELECTIONS. IT IS FURTHER SAID THAT CRAXI IS CONVINCED--PERHAPS THROUGH CONTACTS WITH THE RED BRIGADES OR THE MORO FAMILY--THAT IN THE END SOME SORT OF SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENT RESULTING IN MORO'S RELEASE WILL BE WORKED OUT, AND HE IS DETERMINED TO HAVE BEEN THE LEADER OF THE GROUP WHICH FAVORED SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT.

5. THERE IS RELATIVELY LITTLE OPPOSITION TO CRAXI WITHIN THE SOCIALIST PARTY. WHILE IT IS PUBLICLY KNOWN THAT MANCA AND ACHILLI DISAGREE WITH THE PARTY SECRETARY, NEITHER OF THOSE LEADERS HAS EXPRESSED HIS DISSENT TO THE PRESS. BUT IN A CONVERSATION WITH THE EMBASSY TODAY, MANCA DENOUNCED CRAXI'S INITIATIVE AS "A GAME" WHICH WAS CYNICALLY DESIGNED TO PROMOTE THE PARTY'S POLITICAL INTERESTS GENERALLY AND ITS ENTRY INTO THE GOVERNMENT SPECIFICALLY. IN MANCA'S JUDGEMENT CRAXI'S TACTIC WAS PROFOUNDLY DANGEROUS EVEN IF SUCCEEDED, AND HE WAS CONVINCED THAT IT WAS BOUND TO FAIL. ON THE KEY ISSUE, MANCA STATED THAT CRAXI HAS SO FAR FOUND NO INTERLOCUTOR IN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND HE DOUBTED THAT THE PARTY SECRETARY WOULD GET THE SUPPORT FROM THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WHICH HE HOPED TO OBTAIN. ACCORDING TO MANCA, CRAXI'S TACTIC WAS BOUND TO BACKFIRE. IT WOULD INTENSIFY THE VERY COOPERATION BETWEEN THE COMMUNISTS AND THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WHICH IT WAS DESIGNED TO PREVENT. IN THE END THE MANEUVER WOULD LEAVE THE SOCIALISTS DESCREDITED.

6. MANCA ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT EVEN HIS OWN FACTION DOES NOT FULLY SUPPORT HIM IN HIS OPPOSITION  
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TO CRAXI, AND HE MENTIONED THAT HIS CLOSE ALLY, FRANCESCO DE MARTINO, WAS SIDING WITH CRAXI.

7. COMMENT: WE THINK THE CHANCE OF CRAXI'S ACHIEVING HIS OBJECTIVES IF INDEED THOSE ARE HIS OBJECTIVES--IS DECIDELY REMOTE. THE OPPOSITION TO HIS INITIATIVE BY THE OTHER PARTIES APPEARS AS FIRM AS EVER, AND THERE IS NO SIGN TO DATE OF ANY FISSURE IN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNITY. GARDNER

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## Message Attributes

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